



*Archibald. M. Donald
of Barisdale, Aged 29.*



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THE
L I F E
OF
Archibald Mc'Donald,
OF
BARISDALE,

Who is to suffer for HIGH-TREASON;
On the 22d of May, at *Edinburgh.*

WITH
An ACCOUNT of his Family, and
many PARTICULARS relating to the late
Rebellion, never before published.

TOGETHER WITH
The Proceedings on his TRIAL before the
Court of Justiciary in *Scotland.*

By an IMPARTIAL HAND.

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Of Barisdale, &c.

ARCHIBALD MC'DONALD, of *Barisdale*, was the son of colonel *Mc'Donald*, of *Barisdale*, by *Penelope Mc'Kenzie*; he was born on the 25th of December, 1725, and as something remarkable happened at his birth, with regard to his father, so I shall introduce this account with it.

As the time of Mrs. *Mc'Donald's* delivery of her first child was approaching, she begged of her husband that her sister might be sent for to attend during her lying-in; he quickly comply'd, went into *Kintail* to fetch her, but no sooner had he set his eyes on her, than he was seized with a passion, which, without the least restraint, soon mastered him; for having prevailed with the father to let his daughter

go, he embraced the opportunity of the first desert, and there used her as freely as ever he had her sister before; and continued to act in the same manner, 'till the time that she discovered her pregnancy, when he thrust her from his presence, and dismiss'd her from his house.

To represent all the actions of a man's life, especially one who spent his time as the elder *Barisdale* did, would not be very grateful; and yet to set off the character of our present subject, which is barren in itself 'till the time of the rebellion, it may be somewhat useful to give a short account of his immediate ancestors, under whose eye he had his education, and was constantly trained.

His grandfather *Archibald Mc'Donald*, was second brother to *Alexander Mc'Donald*, of *Glengary*, a man of great personal bravery, and no inconsiderable learning; being capable of repeating several long quotations from the *Greek* testament, when engaged in a dispute with the divines of any sect.

He was not bigotted in his religion, yet in his politicks he was fixed 'till about the latter end of his life.

When a young man, he appear'd at the skirmish of *Gullicranky*, where, by a wrong word, general *Mc'Kay* was defeated: and was afterwards at the skirmish on *Cromdale-bill*,

bill, anno 1695, when Sir *Thomas Livingston*, with three troops of horse, and with no loss but that of a single man wounded, entirely defeated the flower of the Highlanders, and so restored peace to the nation, which was not disturbed 'till the year 1715, when an insurrection was made, and a drawn battle fought at *Sheriffmuir*; between the king's forces under command of the duke of *Argyle*, and the rebels under the direction of the earl of *Marr*.

Glengary was there also, and when the duke was returning from the pursuit, and the Highlanders, who expected no such event, were for attacking his grace, thinking they should have no more trouble with him than with general *Whettam* in the morning; *Glengary* was so keen that he told *Marr*, "The horse
" are fatigued, and so are the men, their
" ammunition is spent, whereas we are re-
" cruited by the arms of the wing that has
" been broke. By G--d, you will never have
" so good an opportunity of them."

The actions of *Sheriffmuir* and of *Preston*, were followed with the entire submission of the Highland chieftains, tho' some were more open than others; among those who acted clandestinely was *Glengary*, for he agreed with Mr. *Cockburn*, of *Ormistown*, the justice clerk of *Scotland*, for a pension of 300 l. per annum to thwart all the proposals in favour of the
B 2 pretender,

pretender, at the meetings of the chiefs for that purpose.

It will not appear incredible that the grandfather of the late *Barisdale*, attended his brother *Glengary* in all these expeditions, wherein the Highlanders gain'd so little honour; for, they are only remarkable for the fury of their first charge; which, indeed, is as terrible as that of the *Swedes* themselves, either in the days of the impetuous *Gustavus*, or the more fiery *Charles* xii. but then not so permanent or lasting, for they waste their strength and spirits all at once; and, here it is observable, that the *Scots* nation seldom lost any battles, except when the Highlanders were present; and whoever pleases to examine narrowly into the accounts of the battles between the *Scots* and *English*, when in the most rooted enmity with each other, thro' the policy and artifice of *France*, will soon discover the truth of my assertion.

The battle of *Bannackburn*, where the finest army that ever *England* was able to send out into the field, was won by the martial inhabitants of the dales, and the western parts of *Scotland*; nor ever could I find authority for believing, that either an Islander or Highlander, was present on that glorious day for *Scotland*, neither were they present at any of the battles, fought by Sir *William Wallace*.

The loss of the battle of *Hallowdown-hill*, anno 1333, and of *Durham*, 1555, was in a great

great measure owing to their impetuosity, and the jealousy that reigned between them, and the gentlemen of the low-countries; but whatever arguments may be used by some, to vindicate the Highlanders from this charge, as it is not expressly asserted in the annals of the times, yet, the misfortune at *Flowdon-hill*, anno 1513, is, by unanimous consent, and in the most express terms, ascribed to them; for the flower of the nobility of *Teviotdale*, and the other dales, being absent, and such as were present, being only there in complaisance to the king; the Highlanders were in the centre of the battle, and notwithstanding the advice of *la Motte* the *French* ambassador, and others, yet they violently pushed into the trap which the artful earl of *Surrey* had laid for them. The shameful defeats they frequently received, as at *Harlow*, anno 1411, and the more recent at *Dunkeld*, anno 1689, and at *Cromdale*, 1695, shew, that their victories were only owing to the rawness of their opponents, and when people speak of the nervousness of their limbs, the strength and proportion of their bodies, with the majesty and comeliness of their features, they only discover an ignorance of the subjects they talk of; the generality of them yielding in all these particulars to the body of the nation; for poverty has been an enemy to their attaining these qualifications. But not to dwell on this, *Glengary* was reckoned a man of great courage and conduct among the chiefs, and a sensible man by all he conversed with;

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with ; tho' indeed, he may be said to have engrossed these qualities only to himself, without giving the least share to his brothers, or to any of his tribe, of whom the late *Barisdale's* father, colonel *Ban*, was one ; a man of an indifferent character in the highlands of *Scotland*, and not unjustly, as will soon appear.

For being born and bred in a remote highland country, that is surrounded with wilds, deserts, and mountains, and trained up in the maxims of a church, who among other motto's, are distinguishable by this, *Ignorance is the mother of devotion*, he was a stranger to trade and commerce, and being circumscribed within the narrow bounds of a thin neighbourhood, and the more close limits of a narrower religion, he had but a faint idea of the social virtues that make pleasure circulate, and alleviate the cares of life. Before his marriage, he attended as a subordinate to his father in his excursions, and after being joined in wedlock, he commenced captain colonel, and chieftain, himself.

By his alliance with the *Mc'Kenzies*, he became privy to their way of fattening cattle, and had access to the folds and glens where they were kept ; and as some of his father's immediate dependants frequently attended him, so these became acquainted also, and in about four or five days after *Barisdale's* return from the visit, a cow or two were missing from

from the place where they grazed ; and he was privy to these waggish frauds, which at last appear'd in open robberies ; for the matter became so common, that *Lochaber*, and the parts adjacent, were better furnished with beef, in the days of colonel *Ban*, than they had been for many years before.

One day a gentleman of *Kintail*, missing some of his cows, followed their tract to *Lochaber*, and meeting with *Barisdale*, he complained to him ; the laird expressed his astonishment, and being informed a cow had been secretly conveyed into a low cottage belonging to one of the *Camerons*, tho' without the knowledge of the proprietor, he went to the place, shewed the gentleman one of his cattle, and dextrously added, " It was " natural to suppose that the others had " shared the fate of this individual." By this means, he spread abroad the most terrible character of the *Camerons*, and to him may be ascribed in some measure, the continuance of the odious names by which these were called. Hitherto *Barisdale* was accounted an innocent man, and so great an enemy to cow-stealing, that when he heard any number was driven out of *Kintail*, he would, without any authority of government, march with his dependants, armed with broad-sword, target, and pistol, into the country of the *Camerons*, in quest of cows, tho' he himself had eat his supper off a furloin of one of them the night before, and that a buttock was ordered

ordered to be got ready against the time he should return.

His neighbours, from their dealing with him, and their observation of his favourite principle, never to pay any mortal, the meanest trifles not excepted, began to suspect him; yet for a series of years they never could fix any thing upon him, 'till about the year 1730, when *Duncan Cameron*, of *Taask*, being informed by one whom he could trust, that *Barisdale* was privy to these thievish exploits, and sometimes assisted in person, boldly advanced to him, when at the head of a gang then in quest of some cows, which he and they had secreted; and *Cameron* not being afraid of *Barisdale*, as he had as many *Camerons*, as the other had *Mc'Donalds*, publicly demanded satisfaction, and gave a challenge that they by themselves should decide the controversy sword-in-hand; which, being accepted, they drew upon each other; *Cameron's* middle finger of the left hand, was cut off above the second joint, which he was so far from regarding, that with his right hand he twisted it off, and bound up the stump in a linnen rag, and so to work with *Barisdale*, whom he cut in the head, a little above the left sutures, so that the skin, and a lock of his red hair, hung down; he lost a great quantity of blood, so that the combatants were parted; and he, soon afterward, arraigned upon an indictment for stealing black cattle, and secretly driving them away. The charge was
proved,

proved, but when some exculpatory witnesses, all of his own gang, and who were under his father's direction, were brought into court, they swore so positively to his being with them at another place on the night the theft was committed, that *Barisdale* was clear'd.

But tho' he was acquitted by the jury, yet a conviction of his being guilty, was imprinted deeply on the breast of every person who knew him; the impresson was made upon those who dealt in black cattle, and to amend their situation as they were daily losers, was now a question of delicacy.

That a rogue was the fittest person to catch a rogue, is a maxim in that part of the country; and therefore, in a meeting among themselves at *Redcastle*, (the place where *Edward I.* halted with his army, and determined to return to *England* for want of provision) they proposed to *Barisdale* a præmium from each, in proportion to the number of cows he had, in order to be protected in their property; the terms were accepted, and the reward was to be paid in meal, a commodity not much abounding in the highlands; and as it was to be given for preservation of the black cattle, so the name of black meal was given it.

Barisdale, having got his commission, played his cards with both hands. No man appear'd more terrible against thieves,

when in the midst of his constituents, and no man more mild than he, when in the midst of his gang; over whom he exercised as rigorous an authority, as the most absolute monarch can be supposed to do.

He had machines for putting them to different sorts of punishments; such as went away without acquainting his comrade, was put into the stocks, which lay before his own door at the head of a bay that gives him his title, and as a mortification to the criminal, his back was set to the sea, and his face to the house, where victuals were brought before him, but he prohibited to eat under the severest penalties; nor did he get any food to sustain him for twenty-four hours, except bread and water. The people guilty of a fouler offence, such as not giving him a share of the cows that had been stolen, was bound with cords and thrown into a dungeon, while those who were suspected of having seized a booty and not acknowledging it, were put to the torture, and a confession extorted from them in the following manner:

The supposed criminal was tied to an iron machine, where a ring grasped his feet, and another closed upon his neck, and his hands were received into eyes of iron contrived for the purpose; to move his hands or feet was impracticable, tho' his neck was at a little more liberty, but then he had a great weight upon the back of his neck, to which if he yielded
in

in the least, by shrinking downwards, a sharp spike would infallibly run into his chin, which was kept bare for that very purpose.

This was the life which *Barisdale* led, 'till the breaking out of the rebellion, and in this course did he educate his son, who at that time being in the twentieth year of his age, and a great proficient in the arts and discipline of his father, accompanied him in the expedition which ended so fatally for both.

For at that very period, both thought they had a good occasion of mending their fortunes under a p—— who had honoured them with a visit, made the elder a colonel, and the younger a major, and of revenging some affronts which they apprehended had been put upon them.

To trace out the different steps of the pretender's progress, is needless in this place, and therefore we shall confine ourselves to our present subject.

And first, We find him upon the cross of *Edinburgh*, countenancing the declarations which the heralds were obliged to proclaim; he appeared very chearful at that period, tho' but little natural sweetness could be seen from the lineaments of his face, which were entirely oval, the muscles protuberant and large; and here it is observable, that men

who live in desarts and wilds, or in places of no resort, bear but a resemblance to those who are trained up in towns and habituated to company, like that of wild, to domestic animals. However, this jollity might spring from a pleasure arising in his breast from a change of his fortune; for into whose head could it have enter'd, that colonel *Ban*, who but a few years ago appear'd before the circuit upon an indictment for the foulest crimes, and in place of suffering the demerit of his offences, from which he was only rescu'd by a few, who added perjury to their other qualifications, would be in a capacity to make his accusers, prosecutors, and judges, tremble? and yet I doubt, if the phrase (*quantum mutatus ab illo*) can be apply'd to him, for *Barisdale* was *Barisdale* still.

After the battle of *Preston-pans*, in which *Barisdale* had no share, as the wing whereof he and his corps made a considerable part, was not engaged, the chevalier dispatched *Barisdale* to old *Lovat*, in order to prevail upon his lordship to throw off the mask and to join; for such a task, no person was more proper in the whole Rebel army; for tho' he was a blunt man, and of a forbidding utterance, yet he scrupled at saying nothing that might raise the honour of the Highlanders, magnify the Pretender's great abilities, and sound the glorious victory! for *Sheridan* judged that his bluntness would appear the natural effect of truth without disguise, and add

add credit to his narration; his devouring looks, his bulky strides, his awful voice, long and tremendous sword, which he generally wore in his hand, with a target and bonnet, edged broad upon the forehead, imparted an awe to the coward and unthinking; while it imprinted a confidence that victory would side with those whom *Barisdale* should join.

On coming to *Castledownie*, the residence of lord *Lovat*, old *Simon* received him with open arms; nor did he know what was good enough for his *dear cousin*, and his *child Barisdale*! whom he entertained for some time, during which, his house was the coffee-house of the Highlands, and many unthinking people, by frequenting it, were prevailed on to join the Pretender's standard; and ~~had~~ not the earl of *Loudon* landed at *Inverness* with a commission for raising 2000 of the well-affected clans, which with the help of lord president, soon was effected, perhaps 6000, (to use lord *Lovat*'s own words in his letter to *Lochiel*) had embarked in the scheme.

Sir *Alexander Mc'Donald*, and others, were drawn off from the project, while others continued firm, and some hitherto looked upon as loyal, were involved in the bold and daring adventure.

Among the last, was the late earl of C——, being not a little persuaded by his lady,

lady, into the criminal machinations. For she had been enamoured some time before, with the plausible speeches of lord *Lovat*, who in the harvest 1744, went in a chaize on a tour of pleasure, and visited the gentlemen of *Rossshire*, and paid his respects to the earl of *Sutherland* at his seat of *Dunrobin*, where with his usual artifice he set off the cause of the Pretender, whose person he magnified to such a degree, as to declare, "that it was impossible to look upon him, and not be convinced from his looks, that he was a king."

The fair sex, who are generally caught with the outward appearance, were enamoured with his lordship's representation, and some were profelyted to the Pretender's interest, and became very indifferent subjects; among these, was the countess of C——, who did not much withstand the designs of the earl her husband.

That nobleman had waited on general *Cope*, at *Inverness*, in September 1745, and proffered his service to the government; but *Cope* told him, "that no assistance was needed to disperse the *Banditti* then in arms;" and with that, he parted from his lordship, who that night went to the *Aird* to visit lord *Lovat*, who received his *dearest cousin* in his usual way, and hearing of *Cope's* answer, he paus'd at the word *BANDITTI*, "A better man than he, would not have said so, and
" that

“ that was our dearest cousin, major-general
 “ *Æneas Mc’Kay*, whom the Highlanders
 “ defeated at *Gullicranky*, tho’ he had three
 “ times the number of what *Cope* has, and
 “ *these*, much better troops, than *his* can
 “ pretend to be.”

These words, made the deeper impresson
 on his lordship, as old *Lovat* took care to see
 the glass go frequently round. The coldness
 of *Cope’s* reception, and the words of old
Simon (according to my information) being
 told to the countess of C——, her lady-
 ship was sensibly affected, and all at once,
 from the most rigorous religionist in the whole
 country, she became callous and warm, so
 that her deportment, from sanctity and gri-
 mace, in the time of publick worship, was
 so changed, that the minister found himself
 obliged to reprove her and her daughters from
 the rostrum, on account of an ill-timed jollity
 and sneer, which arrived at their summit,
 while the parson (Mr. *Porteous*, a very worthy
 man) was earnestly praying for king *George*.

But tho’ C——’s fidelity to the govern-
 ment, was shaken, yet ’tis scarce to be ima-
 gined, he would have taken up arms, had he
 not, in October following, reiterated his visit
 to *Lovat*, who no sooner set his eyes on him,
 than he accosted his lordship thus, “ What
 “ think you of the *Banditti* now ? ” and so
 narrating the story, *Barisdale* swore lustily,
 and brandished his sword, as if, with it, he
 would

would force his way thro' the king's army, which he represented as a parcel of poltroons and fools. After a plentiful dinner, and an hearty glass, *Lovat* began to shew the advantages which must arise from what was upon the anvil, and that the sooner people joined, the more amply should their services be rewarded; *Barisdale* swore all was true, "You, my dear cousin, (said *Lovat* to C——) will be created a marquis:" then correcting himself, "No, my dear lord, you will be made a duke, for your grandfather dreamt, that your mother had brought forth a duke, while she was big with child of you:" then pausing, he bethought himself of the particular title, by which his lordship should be designed: C——, did not sound well, neither did *Strathpepper*, or *Lockbroome*; *Rosemarkney*, *Chanary*, and *New Tarbet*, were not compatible; and at last, *Dingwall*, was thought of; "You shall be duke of *Dingwall*," (said *Lovat*) and so drank to him, by that name.

C—— being engaged in the project, the next business, was to levy a numerous body of men; and as the people dependant upon him, were far from being turbulent, or ready to take up arms against any government, some force was requisite, to prevail upon them; and, indeed, his lordship was not deficient in that particular, for he gave precepts, and written orders signed with his own hand, for levying his tenants in *Lockbroome*, and other parts

parts of his estate, under the penalty of being burnt, with their wives, children, and cattle, in their own houses.

The observation concerning C——'s dependants, may well be apply'd to the bulk of the *Frasers*, who were far from being ready to engage in any desperate cause, and the eight hundred who were brought out, acted generally by constraint; for, by advice of *Barisdale*, a bloody cross was sent about among them; and the laird himself went along, from thence into *Lochaber* and *Badenoch*, where he did all, in his power to persuade people into the service of his new master.

It was now about the latter end of October, when he hastened up to the camp of the chevalier, who then prepared to set out for *England*, in order to receive the congratulations of both houses of parliament, and afterwards eat his Christmas goose at *St. James!*

But while the pretender is marching into *England*, the party which *Barisdale* by his representation, was instrumental in raising, daily became more numerous and strong: C—— seem'd to be the most alert in the scheme; for about the middle of November, he came up to *Castledownie* with his regiment, expecting, that old *Simon* would be ready with his *Frasers* to join; which, partly thro' misunderstanding between him and his
D son,

son, and the unwillingness of many, he was in no ability to do. However, fortunately for *Simon*, there was a fair at *Beuli*, where lord C—— halted, and spent a night of jollity and mirth with his friends: the arrival of C——, started *Lovat*; all at once *Simon* was laid up of the gout, unable to stand or move; yet his tongue was as voluble as ever and with it he excused himself to his dear cousin C——, of whom he took leave in the most affecting terms, and gave him full assurances of being followed in a few days with all *his* vassals, dependants, and name.

'Tis hard to say, whether *Barisdale* or C—— acted with more severity; the former was more proper for executing, but the latter for giving the most sanguine and unaccountable orders; and wherever they came, the publick-money, the grain, and cattle, were taken up, under the pain of burning, and the other dismal effects of arbitrary law.

After the battle of *Falkirk*, in which *Barisdale* had no share, except by the impression he made, having been stationed in the second line, which was not engaged, he was sent out to collect the publick-money, the greatest part of which he kept to himself, and when the chevalier retreated before the duke of *Cumberland*, to *Inverness*, parties were dispatched into the different counties, to collect the cess, augment the number

his corps, and secure the provision ; all which, they effectually did.

Colonel *Mc'Donald*, of *Barisdale*, and his son, were the first to be sent out ; they marched with 2000 men, by the way of *Beuli*, a place within six miles of *Inverness*, where they crossed over into *Ross-shire*, and quickly came in sight of a party, commanded by lord *Loudon*, who in expectation of being joined by the *Sutherland* militia, or at least of being transported into the *Ross*-side, had come down to *Cromarty*, where they would have fallen a sacrifice to the rage of *Barisdale*, and his corps, had not the *Vulture* sloop of war come in a very critical juncture to their assistance, and sheltered them under their cannon, until the whole were carried over to *Nigg*, and *New Tarbet*, that night ; while the earl of *Sutherland* was, with his vassals, retiring into the county of his name.

This dawn of success, spirited up *Barisdale* and his corps, and not a little contributed to the discovery of the real genius, and temper of C——, that now appeared in the most glaring manner.

On coming to *Tain*, C—— desired a list of the inhabitants, and understanding that one of their aldermen had taken up arms for the government, he ordered the man to be bound hand and foot, and thrown into a dungeon ; with other severities of the like kind to

particular persons, while the shire in general, was kept in constant alarms; for written orders, signed by C——'s own hand, were sent into the different districts, parishes, and villages, demanding their moveables, for the use of the troops, under his command.

Barisdale having got his instructions, went on the expedition, and among other places, visited the house of *Balmagown*, which gave title to the illustrious lieutenant-general *Charles Ross*, a gentleman of as fine a presence, as beautiful an address, and majestic a person, as ever I saw, and who with the utmost intrepidity charged and broke the household troops of *France*, at the battle of *Ramillies*. The earl of C—— having a secret pique against the hero, tho' he had been dead thirteen years before, was now resolved to make an example of the place which once was his property. To effect this, the outer court was filled with wet peats, the usual firing in that country, to the intent the fire might be more lingering, the flames continue longer, and their eyes be feasted with looking upon them: the people, whose fewel was thus to be lavished in a foolish manner, were sorry to think that the seat of so great a man, should, from party pique, and private animosity, be reduced to ashes, especially as one *Sangster* the gardiner, and Mrs. *Murdach* the housekeeper, with many others, were in it, they ventured to send a deputy to the house of *New Tarbet*, hoping that the lady C——, who was so strict

strict as not to admit a dressed cock at her table, provided the same had bill'd an hen upon a Sunday, might be prevailed on to get the order mitigated: the deputy went to the house, where meeting with the countess and her daughter, he opened his instructions, but the two ladies (to use the words of the plenipotentiary, from whom I had the matter) laughed very heartily at it, and then dismissed the complaint. However, happily for the designed victims, who every hour expected to be blown up, *Cameron*, of *Lochiel*, was at *New Tarbet*, and contrary to the solicitations of madam and her daughter, went to the place, ordered the fewel to be carried out and distributed among the owners, and set a guard of ten men upon the house to secure it from plunder; which when the earl heard, he was enraged, and as *Lochiel's* instructions were not to be thwarted, his lordship doubled his menaces 'till the 20th, when an opportunity offered of passing over into *Sutherland*, which was hitherto impracticable, as all the ferry-boats were drawn to the *Sutherland* side, by the earl of *Loudon*, while his lordship went with what men he had, into the *Bonnar*, to dispute their passage into the country, if they should attempt it by land.

Few people but have heard of the admirable scheme, contrived and executed by *Perth*, in person, for surprizing the *Sutherland* militia; on the 20th of March, by means of a thick mist, they landed below *Dornoch*; he was
the

the first to jump into the water with a sword in his hand, expecting to engage every moment; but the party of militia who lodged there, soon dispersed, and was pursued to the little ferry, where some were taken prisoners, tho' the major part got safe to the other side, or retreated by the sands of *Little Torbolt*. In the mean time, *Dornock* was rummaged for plunder, and the enemy having got information, that the earl of *Loudon* had lodged in the house of Mr. *Kirk*, the minister, he was much abused by them, and violently thrust down his own stair, for no other reason, but because he advised them to act peaceably: the worthy, innocent, honest man, was much bruised, and yet not one impatient word dropt from him.

However, vengeance pursued them, for on departing from him, and collecting the generous openness of his comely and venerable countenance, with the silvery colour of his grey-hairs, they scolded each other, and from words, came to blows, by which many of them were maimed; and, indeed, it's no wonder then, their consciences, however callous and obdurate, should upbraid them for an insult upon a gentleman by birth, more so by his education and prudence, and a favourite of heaven, for his amiable and endearing deportment, *A Nathaniel indeed, in whom there is no guile*; a good man, whom from the frequent accounts given by the kindest of parents, added to my own experience, I know

I know to be almost the best and most valuable of mankind, whether we consider him as a gentleman, a minister, a parent, a husband, or a friend.

During the tumult at *Dornoch*, the boats that were hauled to the *Sutherland* side, were now employed in carrying over *Barisdale* and his corps, who successively arrived in the town, and next Sunday went with *Perth* to hear a sermon; for that nobleman being informed of what was done to Mr. *Kirk*, and knowing his parentage, his connection in blood with the family of *Argyle*, and with himself, he was much displeas'd, and inclined to pay him this compliment; notwithstanding he himself was a *Roman Catholick*, as were both *Barisdale* and his son.

The loyalty of the delightful honest man, could not be shaken by threatenings, nor could his fidelity be diverted by complaisance; for he shewed the mischievous effects of rebellion, in a well connected sermon. All this time, tho' rage and horror was visible in their faces, yet they did not offer to rise from the pews, 'till the time that he prayed earnestly for king *George*, when they foamed at the mouth, and started up fiercely, as if they were to put all to the sword; and while *Barisdale* was upon the point of darting a long dagger that had so frequently been plunged in the bowels of black cattle which he could not carry off, and in the arms, thighs,

thighs, and legs of his thievish Highlanders, into the breast of the good man, *Pertb* stood up, commanded silence, and ordered them to desist, 'till he should come down from the gallery where he was seated; the tumult being past, and service ended, without further molestation, *Barisdale* thought of nothing but fatiating his eyes, with seeing the minister put to the torture, in the hellish machine which he carried about with him, or at least, of seeing him cut in pieces by his enraged corps, which certainly would have been the case, had not *Pertb* given them a general disappointment; for to protect him from their fury, he came up to the comely man, saluted him with that politeness of which he was so great a master, and taking him by the hand, said, "Sir, I love an honest man, let him be
 " of what perswasion he will; I know your
 " blood is with us, (intimating his relation-
 " ship) but your principles are against us,
 " nor will I put the least restraint upon you,
 " except that of dining with me." His invitation was accepted, the faithful honest man dined with *Pertb*, and was treated with all the elegance the place could afford, and all the complaisance that a love for honour and integrity could inspire.

Happy had it been for the county of *Sutherland*, that *Pertb* had continued in it, but the business of his new master required his attendance elsewhere; and so he set out for the camp, and in his road gave audience
 to

to every person, redressed the grievances under which they groaned by the conduct of *Barisdale*, and set the prisoners at liberty, who had been fetter'd and confin'd to a dungeon, by the command of C——; that nobleman having come over to *Sutherland*, gave *Barisdale* positive instructions to act with vigour, dispersed an order for the people to bring in their arms, under pain of being burnt in their own houses, and that his arguments might be the more powerful, he ordered a granary of oat-meal and barley to be set on fire, at *Cyderball*, a place within two miles of *Dornoch*; the flames spread a considerable way, but the houses in the neighbourhood were at too far a distance, to be so much as touched by them.

The burning of so valuable a treasure, might affect the spectators, and even move the heart of *Barisdale* himself, since the consuming of a granary of meal and barley, was equal to the murdering many poor people, whose lives almost depended upon these; for it is well known, that from the month of March, to the middle of August, some poor upon the coast, have nothing but shell-fish, such as muscles, cockles, and the like, to support them. Poverty reigns so much among the low class, that scarce a smile is to be seen in their faces.

But while *Barisdale*, the father, destroyed the chief granary in the western corner of the
 E country,

country, *Barisdale* the son, went with five companies, and set fire to the earl of *Sutherland's* granaries in the eastern parts, with design to starve the people into an obedience ; and finding the collector of the cess was not at home, he burnt his house to the ground.

These devastations were followed with the most terrible threatenings ; for on hearing that lord *Reay* had secured the money and goods that were landed from the *Hazard* sloop, *Strathnaver* was threatened with fire and sword ; a gallows was to be erected at the mouth of the bay, another at the head of it, and a third before *Reay's* door, on which his lordship was to be hanged, without benefit of the clergy.

To execute the bloody orders, colonel *Barisdale* marched with a detachment into *Strathfleet*, devouring the distant hills with his strides. However, it was not long 'till a check was put to their career ; for at *Rein*, a place consisting of two or three low huts, situated between two hills, both of which are covered with shrubs and broken wood, with a narrow brook running thro' it, they were startled with a few random shot, from behind the bushes, on which they thought fit to retire, contenting themselves with blusterings and bravadoes ; and being unwilling to act any more upon the hostile, from a regard to the countess of *Sutherland*, whose nephew was lord *Elcho*, and she herself, from her education
under

under a biggotted Jacobite, was no friend to the government.

The time was now drawing nigh when the northern storm was to blow over ; for the royal army was advancing from *Aberdeen*, to give battle to the Pretender, and he again was preparing for the grand decision, and had called in his out-parties from their different stations, and, among others, C----- with his corps. The orders being intimated, *Barisdale* was directed to march, while C-----, so taken up with his favourite amazon of *Sutherland*, tarried behind, some say to see a *Dutchman*, Dr. *Venboven*, perform some feats of activity ; others, to spend the last, and most endearing moments, with one who was too prodigal of her favours ; the event is well known, poor C----- was taken prisoner, with several officers ; while the body of his regiment, a people no way inured to war, and only in the rebellion from a fear of being burnt in their own houses, were cut in pieces by the militia of *Sutherland*, who made the vengeance designed for *Barisdale* and his gang, fall upon these novices. The total defeat of the corps being over, the remains fled to the ferry, and crossed it, carrying with them both the news of their own defeat and of C-----'s disaster, to *Barisdale*, who then was at *Taine* with the bulk of his regiment, which had passed thro' *Dornoch*, by twelve the night before, and had

arrived at their present camp, before five in the morning.

On hearing C----- was taken, *Barisdale* foam'd at the mouth, and his eyes roll'd in his head with rage, which became the greater, as the wounded were constantly arriving. He set out at the head of his corps, to satiate himself with revenge, but when about a mile from the town, he suddenly halted, and in an instant, ordered his men to wheel to the left, giving out, that as a general engagement was expected between their army, and that of the duke, so it was better to be present there, and contribute to the victory, than to take revenge directly upon an abject country that must soon fall a sacrifice. His advice was followed, and they marched toward *Inverness*, thro' *Ferndonald*, without halting so much as to take a refreshment, except at *Dingwall*, where meeting with the person whom C----- had deputed to collect the publick-money, *Barisdale* eas'd him of the trouble of carrying it about, and dismiss'd him without so much as a shilling in his pocket. That night, about twelve o'clock, the regiment arrived at *Beulie*, within eight miles of *Culloden-field*, which *Barisdale* might easily have reached next day, before the battle began, had he been any way resolute, or brave.

The victory at *Culloden* was known to *Barisdale*, almost as soon as it was gained,
for

for the greater part of the left wing, and others that escaped, fled thro' *Inverness*, taking the advantage of the bridge, and few of these, but were seen by him; however, he was so far from rallying them, that he gave orders to his people, to shift for themselves, as he himself, and his son, set them an example: and now, instead of burning *Sutherland* with fire and sword, as *C-----* had assured *Mc'Kay*, who took him prisoner, the blusterer was reduc'd to the state of a fugitive, and shelter'd himself among the hills, where he daily heard of the surrender of his associates, and of *C-----*'s being carried in prisoner to *Inverness*, notwithstanding the art and precautions of his lady, who no sooner heard of the victory than she went to the duke's quarters, fell upon her knees before him, and embraced his very boots, bedewing the same with a flood of tears.

Barisdale was now a fugitive, and in a miserable condition. For some time he traversed the Highlands, with which he was extreamely well acquainted, and often visited the caves and dens that formerly had been the reception of the cattle, which he and his gang carried off. But at last, being weary of this vagrant way of life, he thought of surrendering himself to the duke, and doing something meritorious that he might obtain the more gracious reception. An opportunity soon offered, for on the 10th of June, he was taken by ensign *Small*, of lord *Loudon's* regiment,

regiment, who coming up with his party to the little hut where he was, *Barisdale* ordered those with him, to dismiss, while he and his son went out, and taking their swords by the point, they surrendered these and themselves; that night he was carried to *Fort Augustus*, and next day to *Inverness*, whence they were dismiss'd. Old colonel (according to my information) had a protection given him, upon promise of delivering up the chevalier. To accomplish this, he paid frequent visits to the adventurer, and appear'd more than ordinarily complaisant, laying down several methods for mending the state of his affairs, cursing the stars and planets under whose influence he himself was born, and declaring what uneasiness his absence from the field of *Culloden*, had excited in his breast; protesting, that he and his regiment could have turned the scale. The unhappy stranger appear'd to believe him, receiving his visits with satisfaction, and, perhaps, might have been caught in the snare, notwithstanding the sagacity, with which many think him endow'd, had not *Sullivan* and *Sheridan*, people of the deepest penetration, discovered the intentions of the man, from circumstances, and advised their pupil, to be upon his guard, and to use a little caution, which now became absolutely needful; for *Barisdale* had convey'd two companies at *Strathphillin*, whence he dispatched a letter to the intended victim, begging his presence in the most pressing terms; to which he received a very polite

polite answer, wrote with *Sheridan's* own hand, desiring that he would come to a place nearer the western coast. The proposal was not relished by *Barisdale*, which circumstance tended to confirm the suspicion they had formerly entertained of him; "If (saith *Sullivan*) the man really intends to seize you, depend upon it, he will soon be here with his party, and to find out his intentions, 'tis best for you to withdraw." The salutary advice of this sagacious trustee, was followed; the adventurer moved from his present abode, just at the time that *Barisdale* and his corps were within two miles of him; it was now the dusk of the evening, when the fugitive rode off upon a fine courser, which he had taken particular pains to preserve. On *Barisdale's* coming to the house, he was unusually anxious to have a fight of the young chevalier, but to no purpose; the poor gentleman was upon his guard; and *Sheridan*, who had a talent in reading men, with as great freedom and judgment, as others do books, was apprehensive of him; so that the adventurer, from that time, shunn'd *Barisdale*, as much as he did the king's forces, or the militia; which last, was particularly active, and now had it in their power to revenge some family quarrels, and clannish animosities.

A party of the *Ross-shire* militia, came to *Barisdale's* house, where they were presented with a fight of the stocks that lay upon a green, opposite to the door, and these they kindled

kindled first, then set fire to the house, which was beautifully covered with blue slate, and contained eighteen fire-rooms, besides as many without any chimnies; the flames burnt with great violence, and in a few hours the building was reduced to ashes. A poor revenge to those who had suffered so much in their property by his means, even before the rebellion, and who, during its continuance, had been so much abused by him and his gang.

The whole country, both friends and enemies of the government, hated him, tho' the resentment of the latter was smothered by the common calamity. He was apprehensive of it, and in the night-time ferry'd himself over into the isles of *Canna*, where he thought he might lurk with more safety; from thence he escap'd into *France*, for a vessel having arrived in *South-Uist*, from *Boulogne*, to carry the Pretender over, *Barisdale* row'd his boat to it, and desiring to speak with the master, he said, It was needless to wait for the p-----, as he had been taken two days before by a company of soldiers, and was now in his way to the camp of the duke of *Cumberland*; " I (continued he) am come to you for shelter, if you stay but another tide, the *Greyhound* man of war will be up with you; mercy you cannot expect, since all have been put to the sword, whether *Scots* or *French*, that joined the p-----'s standard; and if you

" take

" take me on board your ship, here is treble
 " price for my passage." Such speeches, with
 the dismal representation of the cruelties
Barisdale was pleas'd to enumerate, prevailed
 on the master to return directly, and leave
 the person he was sent for to shift for himself,
 amidst a circle of surrounding hardships.

Upon their landing at *Boulogne*, Mr. *Butler*,
 owner of the ship, an *Irish* gentleman, and
 merchant of that town, was in deep concern,
 on seeing the master and not the person he
 was sent for; the man excus'd himself, told
 him *Barisdale's* story, offering to produce its
 author; but, indeed, *Barisdale* had no sooner
 set foot on *French* ground, than he moved
 towards *Brussels*, leaving the master of the
 ship to read the mystery; but was scarce ar-
 rived at *Brussels*, when he was known by some
 of the Pretender's party, who, by order of
 lord *John Drummond*, seized him and loaded
 him with irons, in which he continued for a
 year, when lord *John*, thinking it scarce
 worth while to detain him any longer, signed
 his liberation, on condition he would enact
 himself to go to *Scotland* instantly, and never
 return, under pain of being put to the torture,
 and broke alive upon the wheel. The terms
 were agreed to, and so he set out for *Ostend*,
 and went on board a small vessel going to
Scotland; where, after a tedious passage, he
 landed near the bay, by which he was named:
 but here the face of affairs were changed, for
 the houses were not only burnt by the militia,

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but the cattle were driven off; the army had eaten up one part of them, and some of the clergy hastening to be rich, bought the other, *Rose*, the minister of *Nairn*, a fellow of the most abominable turn of mind, a creature who frequently turned out poor people from their farms, and has been known to do the most villainous and dishonourable actions, purchased a number of them at five shillings per head, tho' he did not increase his store by his bargain, for many of them died thro' the change of grass, and other inconveniencies.

Barisdale, on these and other accounts, went down to *Glenlivet*, but information being given of him, he was secured by two companies of soldiers, carried to *Perth*, and from thence to the castle of *Edinburgh*, where he entered upon the pay of six shillings a day and a free lodging, as a state prisoner: a circumstance highly favourable to his person, as he was now freed from poverty, but very unfavourable for him in the case of the treachery laid to his charge; for the whole north-country, both well and ill-effected, believed that from the circumstance of his surrender, the easy method in which he was treated, and the suddenness of his being dismissed, added to his tampering with the Pretender, he must have engaged to deliver him up, but now they were confirmed in it.

Here he continued about a year, when he died of a fever, pitied by none, and was buried

the talus of the rampart by part of the garrison, there being none at the burial but six soldiers, a number scarce sufficient to bear up so bulky and corpulent a carcase.

All this time his son *Archibald* was residing in the Highlands unmolested, nor perhaps had the government meddled with him, had not an alarm been made upon the taking of doctor *Cameron*, who suffered at *Leithburn*, June 7th, 1753, in consequence of the bill of attainder, in which *Barisdale* is named.

After the execution of the doctor, many furnishes were given out, and such intimations of a landing in favours of the chevalier were made, that the government thought it necessary to send down some ships of war to inspect narrowly what vessels came upon the northern and western coast, while orders were sent to the commanders of the troops near the garrisons, to be upon the watch, and to secure all suspected persons. The orders were obeyed, young *Barisdale* became a victim to his own rashness, for not complying with the act of parliament anno 1746, discharging the dress of the Highland dress, and enforcing the laws in *George I*st time, made against any number of Highlanders appearing in arms, he very unluckily put on both, and retired to a small hut in a wood near *Lochorn* in the district of *Morar*, with six of his name, some

say in imitation of his father's excursions, more than from any design to rebel.

Notice of this being brought to the governour of *Bernary* fort, he sent about two in the morning a party of general *Howard's* foot to the place they were in, and reach'd it undiscerned, they surrounded it, and took the whole prisoners. Being thus taken, *Barisdale* was conducted to the castle of *Edinburgh*, and put into the same room where his father, the source of all his calamities, had lodged before, and had the same pension assigned him. Here he continued 'till the 12th of March 1754, when by a special order from his majesty, he was brought to a trial before the lords of justiciary in *Scotland*.

The court being met, and the prisoner brought to the bar, he gave in a paper acknowledging "his name to be *Mc'Donald*" "and his father's *Col. Mc'Donald*, which place he held of *Glengary*, and that his grandfather resided at a farm called *Barisdale*, as a moveable tenant, without any right in writing whatsoever, and that his father was called *Younger of Barisdale* yet in law he was not, and consequently the title could far less apply to him, so that he did not fall under the description of the bill of attainder."

As the defence was groundless, the court proceeded to examine witnesses, and these swearing positively as to the identity of his person, he was found guilty, and appointed to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, at the Grass-market of *Edinburgh*, on the 22d of May 1754.

An execution of this kind has not been done there, since the year 1681, when one *Rimbald* was executed on the 26th of June, for being concerned in the famous *Rye-House* plot against king *Charles II.*

During the whole procedure, the prisoner behaved with the greatest composure and decency, and the judges expressed their hearty concern for his unhappy situation, more especially as he had been engaged in the rebellion against his majesty, in his tender years, under the influence of a father and grandfather.

It was for this reason, we hear, that their lordships have prolonged the day for his execution, that he may have full time to apply for his majesty's pardon, which at the same time they expressed their wishes he might obtain.

Should the wishes of the court prevail, and his majesty of his great goodness and clemency, shew pity to this poor man, as he did

did to C—— and his son, whose youth and love to his parent, hurried him down the stream of rebellion, it would be accompanied with no worse consequences than the pain shewn to others, whose treasons were attended with the most dismal and heinous aggravations.



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